2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

b. When a child is born out of wedlock.

In case a girl without being married gives birth to a child, her father and brothers inform the village headman and his deputy. These two call the village people together, and when they have gathered they ask the girl who is the father of the child. The village people then seize the man the girl names, and even if he denies responsibility, his word will not be accepted. 348

But if he is able to prove that other youngsters are also implicated, then the child is born in the bidhuṛ-state[5]. If only one person is proved to be responsible, he will have to take the girl and keep her as his wife; but if two or three persons are proved to be implicated, they will have to pay some money; then they shave off the hair of the child's head in the name of the Jog Maṇjhi (custos morum of the village), and the child gets his sept. Or if the Jog Maṇjhi is a relative, they will shave off the head-hair in the name of the Jog Paranik (the deputy custos morum) or of any man in the village. Of the money that the young men have paid, the child's mother will get some, to nurse the child until it gets strong; the man in whose name they shave off the head-hair gets some, and the village people get the rest of the money. If the child's mother is unable to name anyone as father, then also the child becomes a bidhuṛ, if the male relatives of the girl are unable to buy a man to stand as a husband for her. But if they are able to buy her a husband, the child will get this one's sept, and they shave off the head-hair of the child in his name. To buy a husband the male relatives of the girl will have to pay twenty rupees. This money the man who stands as husband gets. If they are unable to procure a husband, they will shave off the head-hair for the child as a bidhuṛ in the name of the village Jog Maṇjhi or his deputy, or of any man in the village, and the child will get this man's sept. At this time the male relatives of the child's mother will have to pay, and the man in whose name they shave off the child's head-hair will get the money. Formerly, before money was introduced, one pair of bullocks, one cow with calf (in milk) and one bundle of paddy had to be paid. This the man who stands as husband gets. [583]

If a Santal man has had illicit intercourse with a girl of another race, or a Santal girl with a man of another race, and a child is born, in this case we outcaste such ones for life, and such people will run away from among us. [563]

c. Caco chaṭiar, the ceremony when a Santal is given full social rights.

There is no fixed time for the caco chaṭiar[6], only that it must be performed before marriage, and children cannot be married unless they have gone through this ceremony. When a man has a number of children, he will have this act performed with 881

[5] The Santal word, bidhuṛ, is used about one who has no recognized father. [6] Caco is the Santal word for toddling, a child's first successful attempt to walk. As the name implies, the caco chaṭiar may be performed with a child, as soon as it is able to move about. [192]

[4] Cole Dic. Mun. – Toddling

"a divorced girl, a decoy partridge, they are leading astray"; "a divorced girl, a cọḍgọḍ[64] fish, they do not remain in one place". 587 [539]

If a widower or a divorced man marries a spinster, her parents will take a brideprice of five or seven rupees for good, that is to say, the bridegroom does not get anything in return. The marriage is performed as between bachelor and spinster.

Formerly bachelors did not marry widows or divorced women, and also nowadays this is not in accordance with the rule; still nowadays a few men marry such persons, because the age has become depraved. Those who marry a widow or a divorced woman have to pay only half the brideprice, and the Jọg Maṅjhi gets eight annas as marriage fee. The village headman gets nothing. Cloth for the mother, cloths for the grandmothers there is nothing of, and presents and the like are absent also; there is no bathing and hair-washing, no going and coming either. This is no real marriage, we call it a temporary hire. The name of such a marriage is saṅgha. The bridegroom does not apply sindur to the bride. Applying sindur to a flower, he with his left hand sticks this into the bride's hair. This is saṅgha (marrying a widow or divorced woman). No feast has to be given either, the bridegroom gives only a couple of people some beer.

Girls who get a child while being spinsters they call cupi chạḍwi, tail-divorced. Any one who marries such a girl, pays a brideprice as for a divorced girl. But the marriage is performed as a marriage with a spinster. 848

j. Running in.

If in any village a young man and a girl have become of one mind, the girl will inform the Jọg Maṅjhi of this. Having found out what the young man wishes, the Jọg Maṅjhi takes the girl into the house of the young man's parents. A couple of days afterwards the parents tell the village headman. They come together and have a talk. They ask the girl and the young man what they intend. If these two say they are willing and agree, they separate them and fix a day for the marriage. The village community gets five four-anna bits. The marriage is performed like other marriages. 583

If any young man and girl have sexual intercourse, and the young man afterwards is unwilling to marry her, the girl will run in to the young man, forcing her way in. If the young man professes to marry her, in this case their marriage is performed as with the above run-in girl. But if the young man will not agree to marry her, he will in accordance with the decision of the village council have to pay the girl three rupees, and the village council will fine the father of the young man and the father of the girl each five four-anna bits. When the girl has got the money, the Jọg Maṅjhi will take her to the house of her parents. 583 836

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[64] Ophiocephalus gachua, Ham. Buch.

St Mukherjea O. Y-4,6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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selves in a room, when they are *ipso facto* considered to be married.

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(4) Jhâri Pani

A yet another form of love-marriage is humorously enough called *Jhâri Pani* (diluted rice beer), which results from the cohabitation of a couple under the influence of drinks at a beer-shop.

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(5) Kiring Janwane

This is a form of marriage, which takes place when a girl becomes quick with child as the result of a liaison with a man of her own clan. As a way out of the tribal taboo, some one is procured "to accept the post of a husband, and in consideration of his services gets two bullocks, a cow, a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl was made pregnant. The Headman then calls the villagers together and in their presence, declares the couple to be man and wife and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has been provided for her."[1]

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[585]

III. SANGA (*Widow marriage*)

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(1) The Santals, like the other Mundâ tribes, have the institution of widow marriage by widow-

1. Ref. Risley, *People of India*, App. VIII, p. clxii.

S. Mukherjea' O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
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572 838 arising out of such ties and Santals are emphatic that there are no cases of homo-sexual aberrations.

836 In sex-life, unmarried women, divorcees and widows enjoy equal freedom with men to cohabit with men of their choice, barring of course the prohibited degrees of marriage and the clan rules of exogamy. But excessive cases are taken notice of by parents and superiors, and if pregnancy results, village elders step in to find out the man responsible. Very frequently such scandals are avoided by a marriage between the parties.

837 The Santal hates adultery. If a married woman cohabits with others, she is taken to task by her parents and her husband's people. Generally, such erring wives are divorced by the husband. Serious crimes like murders sometimes result from such offences and we remember an educated Santal nonchalantly blurting out, "if my wife commits adultery, I shall cut her into pieces." The following folk-song contains the news of such an illicit union being conveyed to a maternal uncle by his nephew:—

837 533 539

Nephew: Eh mama, mamago, hatòmiñdo perkao akan.

Uncle: Nowa katha sakhi bhagna bin purao lekhan.
Hopon bohok're capò hòcòbin.

41 Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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582 614 never marries a Murmu female or a Murmu male respectively. Similarly a Tudu male never marries a Besra female and vice verse. An old Santal of Tudu sept told me the following tradition explaining why inter-marriage is not allowed between the Tudu and Besra septs.

582 614 539 Once a woman of Besra sept fell in love with a Tudu man, but the man did not agree to marry as the Besra sept is lower. Then the relatives of the man and woman made an agreement that if between the fight of their sept-animals, buffalo and cock, the cock would lose its life then there would be marriage. On the fixed day before the relatives of the both sides this fight took place. The headman of the village holding the pointed horn of the buffalo in one hand and the cock in another asked the permission of the men on both sides, and when they gave an answer in the affirmative, he let them loose and a fight then ensued between the cock and the buffalo. In the fight the cock took out the two eye-balls of the buffalo with its pointed beak, in consequence of which the buffalo lost its life. Thence no marriage was allowed between the two septs. But now no such restriction can be found.

582 584 836 184 [848] Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated ; but if a girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation he would be liable to severe punishment by the Jogmanjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

Kudam Bapla: If a girl becomes pregnant, the young man by whom she becomes so is bound to marry her. The procedure for this kind of marriage is as follows :— 584 848 [836]

The young man informs the Jogmanjhi of his offence and the girl confesses to the wife of the Jogmanjhi. Then the Jogmanjhi informs the headman of the village and also the parents on both sides. The bridegroom pays twelve rupees and a bull for the bride-price. The Jogmanjhi then takes this couple to the house of the bridegroom's parents with the headman and some other villagers. There they fix the date of the marriage. Then on a fixed day in the house of bridegroom the latter applies vermilion to the forehead of the bride; the bridegroom at the time of applying vermilion stands facing West and the bride facing East. [583]

Kiring-Jawae: If the couple belongs to the same sept, the headman of the village calls for a Panchayat, and the decision of the Panchayat will always be negative i.e. no marriage will take place. The boy's father has to bear the expenses of the marriage of the girl to another man. Then the headman of her village arranges her marriage with a boy from a far off village. Here the bridegroom gets a cow and some money from the father of the guilty a boy andhis name is always kept secret. The ceremony is performed by placing the bride on a plate and the bridegroom applies vermilion on the parting of the hair of the bride and a feast is then given to the villagers. 584 848 614 [583]

Chardi-Jawae Marriage: This kind of marriage is resorted to when a girl is the only child of her parents When a man has minor sons and grown-up daughter 583